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ABSTRACT

A study compared the political action, attitudes, and behavior of union members and members of union households to those of individuals who are not affiliated with a union. National data from the 1950s through the 1980s on the political identification, beliefs, and behavior of union/union household members and nonmembers were analyzed along with information gathered during extensive interviews with 30 state/local union leaders that were conducted throughout Ohio in 1990. The analysis established that, since 1952, the nonwhite and female components of union membership have more than doubled, overall union membership has declined, and the unionized work force has become more white collar. Other study findings were as follows: (1) union members remain more likely to vote Democratic than persons from nonunion households; (2) voter turnout is higher among urban union members (but not among their household members) than among the general population; and (3) unions still retain significant political influence over their members (but not over members' households). (Fifteen tables and 10 references are included. Included in 17 appendixes are the following: detailed demographic information on union members/nonmembers; information on the attitudes of labor unions, big business, and the Democratic and Republican parties; and the interview guide.) (MN)

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Organized Labor and Political Action, Attitudes, and Behavior

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Introduction

Background

Organized labor retains considerable importance in American politics. This is true despite a variety of changes both in organized labor itself and in the social, economic, and political context in which it exists. This context has helped lead to a decline in some aspects of labor's strength over the last three decades (on some of the changes in organized labor, including its political role, see Form 1985, chaps. 9,10; Goldfield 1987; Ra 1978; Rehmus 1984; Wilson 1979; Wolfe; 1969). Nevertheless, labor remains an important player in national Democratic politics and in the Democratic politics of a number of states and cities. It also remains active in lobbying in both the legislative and bureaucratic arenas at all levels of government. It seeks to be an active cue-giver for its members as they make political choices, including whether and how to vote.

Oddly enough, however, political scientists (and other social scientists, for that matter) have not done a thorough job of differentiating various aspects of political activity in which organized labor could be important and then systematically investigating those activities. Following a burst of scholarship of uneven quality in the 1950s and early 1960s, scholarly efforts subsided in the rest of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s (Masters and Delaney 1987). This diminution of attention occurred at precisely the time that profound changes were taking place in unions and their place in American economic and political life.

This paper is the first in what we expect to be a series that initially will map and subsequently will explain specific parts of union and union-related political behavior both nationally and also with a detailed focus on Ohio. The present paper is exploratory and largely descriptive. It reports information based primarily on two different sources. First, we present an analysis of national data from four decades (the 1950s through the 1980s) on the political identification, beliefs, and behavior of three groups: union members, members of union households, and people who are neither union members nor in a union household. Second, we will present an interpretation of long interviews with 30 state and local union leaders from throughout Ohio conducted in the summer of 1990.

The analysis of the national data on political behavior enables us to probe dimensions of change more systematically than previously existing work, which is either out of date in terms of the time period covered or deals with only one short period of time, often a single election (see, for example, Delaney, Masters, and Schwochau 1990; Juravich and Shergold 1988; Ra 1978; and Wolfe 1969). It is also designed to help us shape hypotheses for exploration and testing in the future, both nationally and with specific reference to Ohio.

Analysis of the interviews reports general patterns observed. Because of the nature of the data, these generalizations are not offered as certainties but in a more speculative mode. They are also intended to help us and others shape future research on union and union-related political behavior in Ohio.

Aspects of POlitical Behavior

There are many interesting questions about unions and union members in American politics. At least six major areas for inquiry come to mind. Many of them are, of course, interrelated.

First, unions themselves, like all organizations, have internal politics. How are officers chosen? How are economic goals chosen? How are broader policy positions taken?

Second, there are politics within the broader labor movement. Among the more important are jurisdictional disputes between unions and the politics of federation (which unions join, which unions do not join, which unions join formally but remain aloof operationally, which unions support what positions on what issues).

Third, union activities in the economy and with relation to employers are, of course, filled with politics. For example, decisions to organize, tactics used in organizing, tactics used in arriving at collective bargaining agreements and taking those agreements to membership votes all present opportunities for social scientists interested in politics.

Fourth, many aspects of union behavior in the electoral process present important questions. These include the structure and financing of political activities by unions, the decision to endorse specific candidates, and the attempt to mobilize public opinion on candidates and issues favored by unions.

Fifth, union lobbying efforts designed to attain policy goals aimed at various organs of government at all territorial levels present a vast array of questions for analysis, including the "bottom line" question of

how much substantive impact such activities have on public policy.

Sixth, at the individual level, the broad question of whether union members seem to differ from non-union members in their political and ideological views and loyalties and in their political behavior is always intriguing. More important, if differences exist, what explains them? Specifically, do political activities by unions seem to shape the political behavior of their members in the desired directions?

All of these clusters of topics deserve attention. In this paper we will, in the next section, present findings on some of the questions in the sixth cluster. In the section reporting on the interviews with Ohio leaders we will report on a variety of questions scattered over the terrain of possible interesting questions. Simultaneously, we will try to raise questions for future research of a more systematic character.

Political Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behavior of Union Members Since 1952

The most comprehensive data base on union members' changing attitudes, beliefs and behavior is the American National Election Study (ANES), conducted biennially since 1952 by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. This source is supplemented by the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Both of these data bases are national in scope, allowing us to examine major trends over time. First, we look at the changing demographics of union members, then we examine occupational shifts among union members, changes in political

behavior and finally, changes in issue attitudes. Where appropriate, we compare each of these changes among union members with similar changes in two other groups--non-union respondents who live in households with union members (we call these cases "union households") and non-union respondents who live in households where no union members are to be found (we refer to these cases as "non-union households").

Changing Demographics

It is important to trace the changing demographics of labor union membership for a number of reasons. From the perspective of organized labor, a more demographically diverse labor movement may present difficulties for union leaders in mobilizing the membership and setting a common labor political agenda. Certainly to the extent that labor has become more diverse in terms of race, gender, education and occupation, the more difficult it will be to identify mobilization strategies and policy initiatives with widespread appeal to the rank and file membership. Tracing the demographic profile of organized labor over time is also important to social scientists as they try to ascertain organized labor's likely influence in the political process.

For years, the stereotypical labor union member has been the less educated, urban, white, male, blue collar industrial worker, an image that was justified by the demographics of labor union members in the 1950s. According to ANES data, in 1952 86% of labor union members were male; 90% were white; 45% had less than a high school education; only 48% had graduated from high school; only 5% attended--not necessarily graduated from--college. Only 19% saw themselves as "middle class", the

rest identifying with the working class. Almost half of them--46%--lived in urban areas. By 1988, the stereotype that was accurate in 1952 had given way to diversity. Table 1 depicts these changes.

Table 1

Demographics of Union Members, 1952 and 1988--ANES
In Percentages

	1952	1988	Change
SEX			
Male	86	69	-17
Female	14	31	+17
RACE			
White	90	74	-16
Nonwhite	10	26	+16
AGE			
Under 30	19	13	-6
60 & Over	11	15	+4
EDUCATION			
No High School Degree	45	7	-38
Some College or College Grad	6	48	+42
PERCEIVED CLASS			
Middle Class	19	40	+21
RESIDENCE--Union Members			
Urban Areas	46	31	-15
Suburban Areas	30	50	+20
Rural Areas	24	20	-4
RESIDENCE--Union Households			
Urban Areas	46	27	-19
Suburban Areas	30	54	+24
Rural Areas	25	19	-6

As Table 1 indicates, the nonwhite and female components of labor union membership has more than doubled since 1952. An examination of the graphs and tables in the appendix relating to these data shows that this increase was steady and gradual throughout the 1952 to 1988 era.

With respect to race, in 1952 90% of union members were white and only 10% were nonwhite. By 1988, only 74% of union members were white,

only 10% were nonwhite. By 1988, only 74% of union members were white, while nonwhite had increased to 26%, with the increase taking place steadily over the years but accelerating in the 1980s. Overall, blacks increased by 42% from 1952 to 1988, going from just over 10% of the labor force to almost 15%. Among the nonwhite residents the most dramatic increase has been among hispanics, whose percentages have risen from just over 3% in 1966 (the first year hispanics were tallied separately) to over 9% in 1988.

With respect to education, the stereotype of union members being slightly less educated than the general population was accurate in 1952, when 45% of union members had less than a high school education, 48% had graduated from high school, and only 5% attended college. (The comparable figures for the general population were 42%, 40% and 18%.) While education levels rose steadily throughout the population over the next 36 years, by 1988 union members had passed the general population. According to these latest figures, only 7% of union members have less than a high school education, compared to 11% for the general population; 48% have attended college (compared to 42% for the general population) Thus, the movement toward higher education is greater among union members than among the general population. One reason for this is the changing nature of labor unions themselves as increasingly organized labor attempts to unionize teachers and other government employees, citizens likely to have a higher level of education.

Increasingly, union members see themselves as members of the middle, not the working class. In 1952, more than 81% of union members described themselves as "working class", while only 19% described

themselves as "middle class". By 1988, 60% saw themselves as working class, while 40% define themselves as middle class. In contrast, the shift to "middle class" has been negligible among the general population. Among this group, 56% saw themselves as "working class" in 1952. By 1988, that number had dropped only to 52%. Obviously, how union members identify with different social classes will have much to say about the best ways to stimilate union political activities; the old, class-based New Deal politics may simply not be as relevant to today's rank and file union members.

In 1952, almost half of union members lived in major urban areas, with the remainder divided among the suburbs and rural areas. The exodus from America's cities has been slow but steady until, by 1988, union members were more likely to be found in the suburbs than the cities. When we look at shifts in residence among all union households, including both union members and union households, the "suburbanization" of the unions becomes even more dramatic. Because union members and union families have scattered throughout our nation's metropolitan areas, having moved away from often-homogeneous, pro-labor neighborhood and community environments, the reinforcement of pro-labor attitudes and values may be more problemmatic.

The demographic data discussed above are taken from the ANES. Comparable data from the GSS, while for a shorter time period (1973 to 1988) confirm these demographic trends among union members. Demographically, then, unions have undergone and are still undergoing dramatic changes in the composition of membership. Let us explore some reasons behind these changes.

Declining Membership and Occupational Shifts

Since the work force of 1988 does not look like the work force of 1952, we would expect some of the differences to be reflected in the unions. Indeed it is. We will discuss three aspects of these changes: the overall decline in union membership, the "white collarization" of the unionized work force, and the disappearing housewife.

In recent decades union membership in the United States has been declining both in actual numbers as well as in "density"--e.g., as a percentage of the total labor force. The U.S. Union Sourcebook documents these trends through 1984:

> The steady decline in U.S. union and association membership which began in 1975, continued in 1983 and 84. Total membership of American unions in 1984 dropped to 19.8 million, following declines of 946 thousand (4.5%) in 1983 and 355 thousand (1.8%) in 1984. U.S. membership (excluding Canadian members of U.S. unions) in 1984, fell to 18.3 million. The 9 year, 16% decline in total membership from the cyclical and historical peak in 1975, represents the most sustained, significant decline suffered by U.S. unions in the twentieth century. Total membership has been reduced to the levels of 1965-66 and preliminary estimates for 1985 suggest a continuation of this trend.
>
> Union density or penetration (the percentage of the U.S. labor market organized by U.S. members), declined from a 1953 peak of almost 26% of the civilian labor force to 16.6% in 1983 and 16.1% in 1984. As measured by non-agricultural employment, density fell from its 1953 peak of almost one-third of such employment, to 20.7% in 1983 and 19.4% in 1984, bringing this density measure back to the levels of 1936-37. These losses continue labor's 30 year decline in labor market penetration and current indications are that this trend will continue in 1985 (Troy & Sheflin, 1985, 1-1).

Troy and Sheflin's data parallel that available to us through the ANES and GSS and confirm the accuracy of the scientific sampling techniques used in both of these studies, allowing us with confidence to generalize to the union membership at large from data based on the samples. As shown in Table 2, the percent of union respondents and union

households has declined steadily in proportion to the general population of the United States.

Table 2

Declining Union Membership--ANES Data

	Union Members as Percent of Sample	All Union Households as Percent of Sample
1952	17	27
1956	14	27
1960	15	27
1964	13	24
1968	15	25
1972	15	25
1976	12	23
1980	15	25
1984	13	21
1988	12	19

In 1952, union respondents comprised 17% of a random sample of U.S. adults of voting age living in private households. By 1988 that percentage had dropped to 12%. Similarly, all union households combined formed 27% of the national sample in 1952 and again dropped significantly by 1988 to include only 19% of all U.S. households.

The GSS data, though it is only available for certain years from 1973 to 1988, confirm this trend. Union members dropped from 18% of the population in 1973 to 13% in 1988, as shown in Table 3. All union households combined, this time comprised of union respondents and union spouses (not union household members other than spouses) show a similar decline, dropping from 28% of the population in 1973 to 19% in 1988.

Table 3

Declining Union Membership--GSS Data

	Union Members Percent of Sample	All Union Households as Percent of Sample
1973	18	28
1975	16	26
1976	17	25
1978	16	23
1980	14	21
1983	14	20
1984	15	21
1986	11	17
1987	15	20
1988	13	19

The decline in union membership has not been evenly distributed throughout the union movement. Rather, as unions in private industry began to experience declines in membership in the 1970s, unions in the public sector--government and education-related fields--began to experience increases. By the early 1980s, however, both types of unions were experiencing declines (Troy and Sheflin, 1985, p. 3-20).

These same trends have led to the increasing "white collarization" of the union work force. As shown in Table 4, in 1952 the vast majority of union members performed skilled or semi-skilled labor in occupations that could be characterized as "blue collar," while only 17% of union members could be classified as "white collar" workers--a category that inlcudes professionals, managers, and those engaged in sales or clerical work. (The remainder of union members were assigned to two additional occupational categories that are neither blue collar or white collar. These occupations are those of "farm laborer" or "housewife.")

Slowly but steadily from 1952 to 1988, union members have been found less frequently in blue collar occupations and more frequently in white

collar ones. Thus, the ANES data clearly document the shift of union members away from industrial unions and toward governmental and educational unions. (These trends, of course, are part of a larger picture of employment shifts which are beyond the scope of this study.)

Table 4

White Collarization of Union Members--ANES Data

	% Blue Collar	% White Collar
1952	81	17
1956	82	15
1960	85	13
1964	76	23
1968	76	22
1972	68	28
1976	69	31
1980	68	32
1984	60	40
1988	55	43

When we use the same data as shown in Table 4, but separate the males from the females, we find that, as women have joined unions, they are much more likely than their male counterparts to be employed in white collar jobs. This trend is shown in Table 5.

Table 5

White Collarization of Union Members by Sex

	Males		Females	
	% Blue Collar	% White Collar	% Blue Collar	% White Collar
1952	85	14	56	32
1956	85	14	67	22
1960	90	10	56	31
1964	80	20	60	33
1968	80	20	63	31
1972	77	22	41	45
1976	81	19	44	54
1980	76	23	46	55
1984	74	26	29	71
1988	63	35	38	59

Using the same data again, but separating those with a high school education or less from those who attended or graduated from college, we find that the increase in education among union members is accounted for primarily by white collar workers, who went from 16% college educated in 1952 to 76% college educated in 1988. For blue collar workers, the comparable figures are 5% college educated in 1955 and 27% college educated in 1988. The changes occurred gradually between 1955 and 1988, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Educational Level of Union Members by Blue Collar/White Collar

	Blue Collar		White Collar	
	% High School or Less	% Some College or College Grad	% High School or Less	% Some College or College Grad
1952	95	5	84	16
1956	95	5	68	32
1960	93	7	68	32
1964	92	8	76	24
1968	88	12	60	40
1972	85	15	65	36
1976	80	20	48	52
1980	85	16	33	67
1984	73	27	32	68
1988	73	27	24	76

Today, the typical blue collar union member is more likely to be a male with a high school education or less, while the typical white collar union member is more likely to be a college educated female.

As more and more women entered the work force in this era, the proportion of females describing their occupational status as housewife has declined dramatically. Table 7 presents the proportion of housewives among union household and the general population. (If one is a union member, then the category "housewife" is likely to be irrelevant; that is why Table 7 includes only union households and the general population.)

Table 7

The Disappearing Housewife

Percent who listed their occupation as "housewife."

	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	72	38
1956	70	37
1960	58	31
1964	54	33
1968	60	30
1972	54	29
1976	41	23
1980	33	17
1984	26	14
1988	26	12

Thus, the ranks of the employed, both union jobs and non-union jobs, began to fill with a new worker--the one who, in another age, would have remained a housewife. Changes in the composition of the work force were coupled with dramatic changes on the homefront, changes which were more profound among union households, where, in 1952, the traditional family of working union father and stay-at-home mother was the typical one.

Political Behavior

Labor union officials always have understood the connection between power in the workplace and political power and have directed union resources toward political ends. One would expect union members, therefore, to exhibit measurably different political behavior than the general population. Here, we provide a profile of that behavior from 1952 to 1988, including party identification, turnout for elections,

actual vote choices and involvement in political campaigns.

Since the 1930s, most labor unions have aligned themselves with the Democratic Party. It is not surprising, therefore, to find rank-and-file union members identifying more with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party or the partyless territory between referred to as Independent. Such has certainly been the case since 1952, as shown in Table 8. Union members are the most Democratic of the three groups shown. Their Democratic influence seems to extend to other members of their households, as union household members are consistently more likely to be Democratic than respondents from non-union households, though not quite as likely to be Democratic as union members. All three groups show a decline in identification with the Democratic Party between 1952 and 1988, and some convergence between the three groups may be occurring.

Table 8

Democratic Party Identification--ANES Data

Percent identifying strongly
or weakly with the Democratic Party

	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	58	49	47
1956	53	50	43
1958	64	61	47
1960	53	63	43
1964	68	59	49
1966	58	55	42
1968	54	52	48
1970	56	53	42
1972	48	44	39
1974	45	44	38
1976	52	43	38
1978	55	43	37
1980	46	47	40
1982	49	51	44
1984	50	39	36
1986	49	44	40
1988	44	41	34

Looking at the 1988 data for union members only, the identification with the Democratic Party is strongest among two groups: those living in urban areas and those who are 45 or older. Among older union members, 53% label themselves as strong or weak Democrats compared to 37% among younger union members (those under 45). The differences are not as marked for place of residence. In 1988, 49% of union members living in urban areas labeled themselves strong or weak Democrats; the comparable figures union members living in suburban and rural areas are 40% and 44%. (See the appendix for age group and place of residence comparisons from 1952 to 1988.)

Over the years, labor unions have expended much effort and money to assure that members actually go to the polls and vote. That effort

and money may have had its effect, as shown in Table 9, where the turnout for general elections for union members, union households and non-union households are compared.

Table 9

Turnout in General Elections--ANES Data

Percent who reported having voted

	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	76	77	73
1956	80	71	72
1958	69	50	56
1960	84	73	83
1964	83	83	77
1966	65	59	62
1968	80	69	75
1970	61	54	57
1972	79	70	72
1974	61	56	59
1976	80	75	70
1978	61	50	54
1980	76	73	70
1982	66	64	59
1984	78	72	80
1986	56	53	52
1988	76	73	69
Average Turnout	72	66	67
Average Turnout, Presidential Years	79	74	74
Average Turnout, Non-presidential years	63	55	57

Clearly, unions have been successful in encouraging higher turnout among union members in general elections in both presidential and non-presidential years. This higher turnout among union members is even more impressive in the earlier part of this time series when union members on average had lower levels of education, a characteristic associated with

lower turnout. The union effect, however, has not translated into higher turnout for union household members. Respondents in this group vote no more frequently in presidential general elections than their non-union counterparts, and actually vote less frequently than the general population in non-presidential years.

When we divide our respondents into age groups of younger (under 45) and older (45 and over) we find that, as is typical of the population in general, all of our older groups turn out to vote in presidential elections at much higher rates than their younger counterparts. The union advantage persists, however, within both age groups. Younger union members turnout at an average rate of 75%, compared to 70% for both union households and non-union households. Older union members turnout at 85%, compared to 81% for older union households and 78% for older non-union households.

When we divide our respondents into place of residence--e.g., urban, suburban and rural--we find significant union advantages among the urban and rural populations. The turnout advantage is lost among union members living in the suburbs.

When they turn out to vote, are union members more likely to vote the way the union recommends? (We assume that the union recommendation usually is for the Democratic candidate.) We will look at three kinds of elections between 1952 and 1988--presidential, senatorial and congressional, as summarized in Table 10 and shown in detail in the appendix.

Table 10

Presidential, Senatorial and Congressional Vote--ANES Data

Average Percent Who Voted Democratic, 1952-1988

	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
Presidential Vote	60	55	42
U.S. Senate Vote	67	60	51
Congressional Vote	70	63	53

Union members are more likely to vote Democratic in all three types of elections than respondents from non-union households. And, union household members, while they may not turn out to vote as consistently as union members, when they do vote they are more likely to vote Democratic than the public at large, though less likely to do so than union members. Again, the Democratic preference holds across all three types of elections.

We would expect that the longer one had been a union member, the more likely it would be that that member's political behavior would conform to union norms as various intra-group reinforcement processes occurred. In the context of campaigns and elections, we would expect union encouragement to vote in elections and to vote for union-endorsed candidates to have a cumulative effect. To see whether this is so, we divided union members into two groups: those who had been members for less than ten years and those who had been members for ten or more years. As shown in Table 11, longer-term union members are more likely than their shorter-term counterparts to exhibit political behavior conforming to union norms. They are more likely to turn out to vote and, when they

do vote, are more likely to vote Democratic, especially in senatorial and congressional elections.

Table 11

Political Behavior of Union Members by Length of Union Membership, 1952 to 1968--ANES Data

	Union Member Less Than 10 Years	Union Member 10 Years or More
Average Turnout	65%	83%
Strong or Weak Identification with Democratic Party	55%	60%
Democratic Presidential Vote	69%	70%
Democratic Senatorial Vote	60%	71%
Democratic Congressional Vote	64%	72%

Historically labor unions have tried not only to influence the political behavior of their members and their families, but to extend their political influence to the broader community through their leaders' and members' involvement in political campaigns. Hence, we would expect to find union members performing at least one campaign related activity more frequently than our other respondents. We define a campaign related activity as one of the following: trying to influence another person's vote; wearing a campaign button, putting a sticker on the car or a campaign sign in the yard; attending political meetings or rallies; working for a political party or candidate; or making a political contribution. Union members are more active in campaigns, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Political Campaign Involvement in Presidential Years--ANES Data

Percent Performing One or More Campaign Acts

	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952*	32	27	27
1956	50	37	37
1960	44	42	42
1964	41	42	39
1968	42	34	35
1972	37	28	33
1976	40	32	36
1980*	41	31	35
1984	41	37	36
1988	38	38	32
Average, 1952-88	41	35	35

*Four campaign related questions were asked these two years; five questions were asked all other years. ANES data.

The union influence does not seem to extend to union household members, however, as this group is no more involved than their non-union counterparts. The most popular campaign activity by far is "trying to influence someone else's vote," an act that seldom represents a high level of involvement. Indeed, Americans' political activism does not go very deep, as shown in Table 13. Between 1952 and 1988 only an average of 15% of union members performed two or more campaign acts, compared with 13% for non-union respondents and 11% for union household members.

Table 13

Political Campaign Involvement in Presidential Years

Percent Performing Two or More Campaign Acts

	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	6	6	7
1956	22	14	15
1960	20	20	20
1964	14	16	16
1968	12	13	14
1972	15	11	14
1976	12	10	10
1980	10	5	8
1984	18	10	12
1988	17	8	11
Average, 1952-88	15	11	13

Attitudes toward Political Groups

Underlaying and helping explain political behavior are political attitudes. We explore two types of political attitudes next--attitudes toward political groups and attitudes toward political issues. To measure attitudes toward political groups, the ANES uses "feeling thermometers." In essence, the use of a feeling thermometer rests on the ability of people to relate points on a thermometer to degrees of warmth and coldness toward objects. Survey respondents were given the following instructions:

> I'll read the name of a group and I'd like you to rate that group using the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel much for that group. If we come to a group you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that group. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. If you do recognize that group but don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group, you would rate the group at the 50 degree mark.

Using the mean thermometer ratings for union members, union households and non-union members, we can compare their attitudes toward labor unions, big business, the Democratic Party, Republican Party, whites and blacks. These comparisons are shown in detail in the appendix. In general, union members and union households feel warmer toward labor unions and the Democratic party than non-union members. They feel slightly cooler toward big business and the Republican Party than their non-union counterparts. There are no noticable differences among groups in their attitudes toward whites, blacks and hispanics. When we focus on union members only, however, we find interesting differences between those who have belonged to a union for less than ten years and those who have belonged for ten or more years. Longer-term union members consistently rate unions, the Democratic Party and whites a little higher and rate blacks a little lower than their shorter-term counterparts. (It should be remembered that this longer-term group is likely more white.)

When we separate our union members into younger (under 45) and older (45 and older) and compare thermometer ratings, we find our older members to be slightly more positive toward four groups--labor unions, the Democratic party, whites, and--surprisingly--big business. Please refer to the appendix to see these differences in detail over time.

Issue Attitudes

We would expect union members' positions on key domestic issues to be more liberal than those of non-union members. We also might expect those positions to have changed between 1952 and 1988 because of the

changing nature of both issues and labor unions. We look now at some of these attitudes, which we divide for purposes of discussion into two groups--1) issues related to the role of government and 2) equality and fairness issues.

Do union members prefer an activist federal government, one that attempts to solve domestic problems through intervention and services? In general, they do. From 1952 to 1988, union respondents are consistently more liberal on their positions regarding government subsidized medical care, government aid to blacks and other minorities, and the government's responsibility to guarantee everyone a job, although the differences are small in some cases. Union members are more likely than others to favor no overall reduction in government services, even if that should mean an increase in taxes. A summary of these positions for all applicable years from 1952-1988 is shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Attitudes Toward The Role of Government, 1952-1988--ANES Data*

Average Percent Favoring Each Position

Position	More Liberal Position			More Conservative		
	UM	UH	NUH	UM	UH	NUH
Medical Care	57	53	50	31	34	37
Aid to Minorities	43	42	42	39	38	40
Guaranteed Work	43	43	37	40	37	45
Government Services	46	44	39	28	28	35

* Not all questions were asked in all years.

UM=Union Member UH=Union Household NUH=Non-union Household

When it comes to issues of equality and fairness, it is not clear what our expectations should be about the attitudes of our three respondent groups, especially as these issues are linked to matters of social group and life style which are not core to labor's political agenda. In addition, issues of equality and fairness are linked to issues of economic entitlement and equity for women and minorities, which may make a liberal position on these issues threatening to white males, who still comprise the largest portion of union members. We examine three such issues: attitudes toward the role of women, the speed of the civil rights movement, and the rights of the accused. But as Table 15 indicates, there are scant differences among union members, union households and non-union households on these differences.

Table 15

Attitudes Toward Equality and Fairness Issues, 1964-1988--ANES Data

Average Percent Favoring Each Position

	Liberal Position			Conservative Position		
	UM	UH	NUH	UM	UH	NUH
Role of Women	60	58	59	20	27	27
Speed of Civil Rights Movement	13	9	10	47	44	45
Rights of Accused	36	35	34	47	45	49

* Not all questions were asked in all years.

UM=Union Member UH=Union Household NUH=Non-union Household

What have we learned from these analyses? First, we know that union membership in the United Stated has declined. This does not automatically translate into a decline in union influence in the halls of Congress and the state legislatures, but it does mean that the potential union impact on election outcomes has diminished. The higher turnout among union members adds a bit more strength to labor's electoral clout, but unless organized labor can mobilize its members to participate at much higher levels and to be even more loyal to labor's endorsed candidates, union numerical influence in elections will not be maximized even as organized labor pours much money and manpower into campaigns.

We have also learned that the composition of rank and file union members has changed dramatically since 1952. Union membership has become less white and less male, which may create difficulties for union leaders to the extent that the issue preferences of union members have become

more heterogeneous. Moreover, labor unions themselves have become more diverse as the old industrial unions decline and newer public employee unions, especially teachers' organizations, come to the fore. As organized labor becomes more diverse, new strategies and tactics will have to be developed to mobilize this increasingly diverse membership. Indeed, labor leaders will need to ascertain whether identification with the union movement is as strong among these newer components as among the traditional union members. In a related vein, we have learned that since 1952 union members are characterized by higher levels of education, by a greater sense of identification with the middle class, and by a movement away from urban areas where attitudes and behaviors supportive of union aspirations were more readily reinforced. Today, the sense of class warfare, the perception of an exploited blue collar worker toiling at a dangerous and monotonous job, is less relevant than in the past. This in turn will force labor leaders to adopt appropriate themes, strategies, and tactics to mobilize their members.

Union Political Activity in Ohio: A Sketch from the Central Body Perspective

A Brief Description of the Interviews

In June and July of 1990 we conducted 30 long interviews with labor leaders throughout Ohio. Twenty-six of the interviews focused on local "central bodies" (typically called an AFL-CIO Council, although exact

titles vary). The areas represented by these central bodies included the five largest cities in the state and three smaller areas chosen in collaboration with the state AFL-CIO because they were thought to be active politically. The other four interviews were with state labor leaders. Individuals were told they would not be personally identified, although the geographical areas in which the interviews had taken place might be identified. Twenty-eight of the interviews were conducted in person; two were conducted on the telephone. The average length of each interview was just over one and one-half hours. The range of the length of interviews was from 45 minutes to 3 hours. Thirteen interviews were conducted with a single individual; four were conducted with two individuals at once; and three were conducted with three individuals at once.

Each interview probed the same broad topics in the same order. Discussion of each topic was open-ended once it was raised. The appendix contains the interview guide used in every interview.

Generalizations

The operational concept of politics and political action. Politically active labor leaders in Ohio have a sophisticated notion of political action. They have a multifaceted view of the areas in which they need to work politically. These include efforts for specific candidates and on specific issues as well as community-oriented work designed to increase general community respect for unions. In most ways, aspects of the changing world they face (loss of industry and union jobs and residential dispersion of their members, for example) are beyond their control. A broad concept of political activity may be one way they

can adapt to some of the unfavorable changes.

The leaders, of course, think of political offices as an object for political action, but they think of a great range of offices, not just the most obvious ones. They are, for example, interested in judges for very practical reasons. They want sympathetic municipal court judges who won't hold members in jail for drunk driving so long that they risk losing their jobs. They are interested in who becomes Common Pleas judges because those officials deal with issues such as limiting the number of pickets and plant security guards during strikes. Appellate judges, of course, hear appeals from all kind of cases that might involve union interests. The state Supreme Court makes important law on workman's compensation, on public bargaining, and on a whole variety of other issues important to unions. The leaders know why all of these judicial offices are important to them.

They also have a good sense of which local bodies pass ordinances or make laws that might affect unions. They are interested, therefore, in who become mayors, county commissioners, members of city councils, as well who hold state and national legislative seats, the governorship, other statewide offices, and the presidency. They have good knowledge of which executive and which legislature is responsible for what that affects their direct interests. For example, they know that the state attorney general has certain powers of appointment of lawyers who are very important in interpreting retirement laws or workman's compensation laws. They are aware that some local governments have been using so-called "labor consultants" to prevent unionization in their own offices. The union leaders are, of course, eager to prevent local

governments from taking union-prevention or union-busting stances. Union leaders may also be interested in bonus points for local contractors, or contractors who use a certain percentage of local labor, in competitive bidding for public contracts. They are aware of what offices issue what contracts. They also tend to get involved in issues such as various tax levies for schools and other purposes. They generally have a good idea of why they take the positions they do.

Local unions, of course, don't always agree with each other in these various political endeavors. The diversity of interests represented by a diversity of unions makes some disagreements among unions inevitable. In the May 1990 vote on the Cleveland Gateway project, for example, the construction unions were unwavering supporters because Gateway would mean construction jobs. At the same time the United Auto Workers (UAW) was adamantly opposed to Gateway. The UAW argued that tax abatement really diminished community resources in the long run. The same kind of divided opinion surrounded the proposal to legalize local votes on casino gambling, a proposal defeated in the November 1990 election. The Building Trades favored the proposal because of the jobs that might be created if localities legalized casino gambling. The UAW opposed it for reasons of social policy.

Local leaders are also generally aware of local contextual factors, either permanent or temporary, with which they have to deal. These range from the relative strength of the two parties (unions in heavily Democratic areas behave differently from those in heavily Republican areas or competitive areas) to the impact of issues that get people emotionally involved but are really peripheral to central union interests

(e.g., abortion and gun control).

Political activities and methods. Unions engage in a wide array of political activities. They focus on get-out-the-vote campaigns, registration, the use of phone banks, distributing literature with union endorsements as well as literature for candidates when union members work for the party, and endorsing candidates. For reasons of cost, there is a reduced use of union newspapers. They are marginal in the total effort of most local central bodies as they seek to urge their political preferences on individual union members.

It should be noted that federal law in many cases and state law to some extent are very restrictive of what unions can do with so called soft money or dues money. Incorporated unions (which is the status of all of them except the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees [AFSCME], which is a continuing association) can only contact union members if they identify themselves as being from the union or have clear union identification on literature distributed. Hard money (money raised directly for political purposes, whether through special events or dues check offs) can be used to reach other people and can also be given directly to candidates. Politically active union leaders are very aware of the legal limitations on their political activities and are very cautious about doing anything that might be interpreted as being a violation of them.

Another activity engaged in by the local unions is the so called "precinct sweep," which is designed to get people to the polls and vote in accord with union preferences once they are there. There is some disagreement among union members on when those sweeps are most effective.

The AFL-CIO state federation ideology has long been that election day is the time to do it. Most of the local people think that Saturday, or Sunday, or Monday before the election, or some combination of Saturday, Sunday, and Monday are the best times to do it. They reason that if people come home from work on election day without having voted, they are unlikely to go back out to do so late in the day.

Endorsements of specific candidates is, of course, viewed as a major political activity. Most money-raising for use by candidates is left to union locals. Central bodies tend to stay away from fund-raising activity. Most of the union money that goes to candidates is raised by local unions, which, in some cases, can and do give money directly to candidates. In other cases, the locals send the money to their international union and then it either is returned to them to use for candidates or given directly to candidates by the international. The local central bodies, with a few exceptions, give very little money directly to candidates. The state central body also does not give a lot of money to candidates but does give a few selective contributions. For example, in the 1990 race for a state Supreme Court seat, the State AFL-CIO gave Andy Douglas, the incumbent Republican, a well-publicized contribution of $50,000.

Relations with political party organizations. Not much needs to be said about relations between organized labor and the Republican Party. In most areas there simply are no relations with the Republican party organizations. In most areas and at the state level, however, a few individual Republican candidates win union endorsements. These endorsements are strictly for the individual candidates and do not

involve relations with Republican Party organizations. If union money is given in these cases, it is given directly to the candidate so that the money does not disappear into the general funds of a Republican caucus, either local or state.

Relations with the county Democratic parties are often bad or at least of mixed quality. The most general reason for this state of affairs is the different interest base of unions compared to the party. By definition, the party has to (or at least should, if it has any serious interest in winning) put together a coalition in which unions are only one player. Unions can be, and are, more focused. Union leaders tend to know their interests, tend to focus on them, and tend not to get involved in a whole lot of issues. They focus primarily on mobilizing their own strength rather than on building a larger coalition.

Union leaders in some areas also observed that Democratic party leaders really do not much like working people or do not like labor unions. There are also allegations that the party leaders are envious of the unions for being better organized than the party itself.

Naturally, turf and personality considerations also enter the picture in explaining union-Democratic Party relations in any specific county.

Organized labor in different areas varies in its attempts to hold formal power in the Democratic party. In some areas there are concerted efforts made to elect precinct committee members, even an occasional county chair. In other areas there is not much interest. On balance, the union attitude toward the Democratic party is ambivalent. On the one hand, union leaders view union voters as the backbone of voting strength

for the Democratic party and also a core of organizational strength built on volunteer help for phone banks and other activities. But on the other hand, they realize the party has to appeal to a broader coalition to win. Therefore, some local union leaders keep a hands off or arms length attitude toward the party in order to maintain their own purity of goals and program and not let them be diluted by the party. The days when one might have assumed that the union-Democratic Party relationship was automatically close and cooperative are long gone. Naturally, that image may have been wrong even in the "old days."

Union leaders are also ambivalent about whether to seek membership on county or state Democratic party candidate screening committees. Some stay away from membership because they want to feel free not to endorse all Democrats and yet they think that if they help pick the Democratic candidates by being on the committee responsible for it, they might get trapped or at least heavily pressured to support all candidates. Others want to be on the screening committes to get the best roster of candidates they can but subsequently feel no necessity to endorse all Democrats. In very rare cases, they even feel free to endorse a Republican.

Inter-union relations and the ecological context for unions. Fragmentation and turfism have long characterized the union movement in the United States. They persist despite dwindling union strength. In fact, the rise of different kinds of unions (especially public service unions, which were aided dramatically in Ohio by the 1983 public bargaining law) may even exacerbate fragmentation and turfism. On political matters, however, there is some networking that can offset

fragmentation on political matters.

In each local area there is, of course, a different pattern of union memberships, strength, and political activity. Generally speaking, where it has a sizeable membership, the UAW is politically active. It is, however, unaffiliated with the AFL-CIO central body structure. The International Union of Electrical Workers, the United Steel Workers of America, and the Communications Workers of America are all generally politically active.

AFSCME is usually active politically, but often keeps at arm's length from the rest of the union movement because it has its own, and partially different, agenda. Fire fighters are occasionally active, although usually they have their very special private agenda. The Fraternal Order of Police seems not to be in evidence in broader union political activities. Teachers' unions present a mixed picture. Mostly they do not think of themselves as union participants, even in areas in which the American Federation of Labor organizes the teachers. Where an Ohio Education Association affiliate organizes the teachers, they typically do not identify with the labor movement. The so-called federal unions, such as the postal workers and railroad unions, are also not in evidence in terms of coordinated political activity. The Teamsters are rarely very well integrated into any kind of local union coalition. The Food Service and Commercial Workers, Industrial Workers, and the Laborers are important in some areas, depending on the size of their local membership.

Relations of local labor organizations with state labor organizations. In general, the state labor organizations pay a lot of

attention to lobbying the state legislature. Three state organizations are generally the most important in terms of engaging both in lobbying and other political activity, including significant electoral activity: the state AFL-CIO, AFSCME, and the UAW. Some other state organizations focus primarily on lobbying and leave electoral activity almost exclusively to their locals. The three most important organizations, however, try to extend help to local affiliates for engaging in a variety of political activity. The state AFL-CIO, for example, gives help to local central bodies in the form of money and literature. They also give help, usually in the form of expertise, to local unions for election-related activities such as phone banks, get-out-the vote campaigns, and voter registration. There seems to be a generally good relationship between the local central bodies and the state bodies. The state bodies do not try to dictate to the individual locals or to the local central bodies. The local central bodies are jealous of their prerogatives as are, of course, the local unions. There may have been incidents in the past where the state federation tried to intervene with the local central bodies. But, in fact, these interventions probably did not work well. The UAW is more centralized, but that is a structural matter of long standing that is well-accepted in the UAW.

Problems in generating effective union political action. Labor leaders are aware of a number of problems in trying to generate effective political action:

1. Building more effective inter-union cooperation. This includes bringing the newer, growing service and public service unions into a closer relationship with the older, shrinking industrial unions.

2. Getting and keeping union members interested in politics. A number of leaders observed that their members seem to be more inclined to want to stay home and watch television than engage in politics. Residential dispersion is also a problem in terms of getting people back after work for union meetings and to engage in union political activities.

3. A number of union leaders also worry about where their next generation of leadership is going to come from as the present leaders age. This worry is, of course, most prevalent in the old industrial unions, where membership is shrinking and new hires by the companies are rare.

4. Getting volunteers for political activity is generally becoming harder and is very difficult in an absolute sense. Most local leaders rely on the same few people for everything. (That is, of course, a normal situation in any organization.) A lot of the local areas have had to pay people to get them to do anything politically. They cannot rely on genuine volunteers.

Conclusions

Descriptive conclusions have already been presented earlier in this paper on, first, the basis of the national data from 1952 through 1988 and, second, on the basis of the exploratory interviews with labor leaders in 1990. In broad terms, the national data lead us to underscore the changes that have taken place in the membership of unions, both in composition and in political identification and behavior. These changes have posed new challenges to labor leaders anxious to maximize the

political impact of organized labor.

The interviews revealed that leaders of organized labor in Ohio, in general, had a broad understanding of political action, saw a wide variety of activities as legitimate and potentially fruitful for their organizations, and understood well what "old line" industrial unions could be relied on in terms of political action. They also identified a number of challenges they faced: how to relate more productively to the Democratic party at the local level, how to get the newer white collar public service and education unions more involved in the union movement politically, how to get their members to vote in line with union preferences, and how to get some members actively interested in engaging in political activity sponsored by the unions.

The logical next step in exploring this broad topic is to focus on Ohio specifically to build a portrait of the political attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of union members contrasted to the general public. Once we have more explicit knowledge about the shape of these aspects of political behavior on the part of union members we can comment more pointedly on the problems and opportunities for union leaders in Ohio as they seek to realize their political goals.

In order to begin providing the data we need to address current political behavior of unions and union members in Ohio in more detail we designed two versions of a survey to be administered on the telephone immediately after the 1990 election. One version was used for a sample of 750 of the general public. A second version was used for a second sample of 750 union members. Details of the survey and sample as well as careful analysis of the data collected in November and December 1990 will

be presented in subsequent papers. As a brief conclusion to the present paper we want to indicate the broad areas covered by the 1990 surveys. A summary of these areas indicates the kind of information we can present to interested parties after we do the analysis of the responses. The surveys probed the respondents in the following areas:

1. Why people belong to unions, how active they are in their union, and how important their membership is to them.

2. What public problems they see as most important.

3. Personal opinions about three key policy issues--medical insurance, legalized abortion, and the degree of desirable government help aimed specifically at Black Americans--and perceptions of the opinions of union leaders and fellow union members on these issues.

4. Party identification.

5. Ideological preferences.

6. Voting in the 1990 election on all statewide races.

7. Sources of political information, including union sources; and the impact of union political activity.

8. Attitudes toward the legitimacy of various union political activities.

When analysis of these surveys is complete we should be able to specify how Ohio union members seem to be similar to and/or differ from union members nationally. We can also draw a sketch of the basic political attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of union members in 1990. This presents the leaders of organized labor with the context in which they must work and try to magnify their political impact. We will also be able to say something about the relative standing of union sources of

political information in the view of rank-and-file members when compared to other sources of political information. Finally, we will be able to assess how legitimate the members view the political activities of their unions. With appropriate analysis, we will also be able to specify the characteristics of members that lead to particular kinds of political beliefs and behavior.

NOTE

We are grateful to a variety of individuals and institutions for help that made this paper possible. The Center for Labor Research at Ohio State provided both funding and encouragement. The staff of the Polimetrics Laboratory of the Department of Political Science functioned with its usual cheerful efficiency as we prepared and analyzed our national data. A graduate student in the Department of Political Scince, Staci Rhine, helped with bibliographic work. Finally, we thank a large number of leaders of organized labor in Ohio for listening to and commenting on various presentations of this work as it emerged and also for spending lots of time in the interviews summarized in the paper.

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APPENDICES

A-1 Sex of Union Respondents, 1952-1988

A-2 Race of Union Respondents, 1952-1988

A-3 Age of Union Respondents, 1952-1988

A-4 Education of Union Respondents, 1952-1988, Less than High School and College Graduates

A-5 Perceived Social Class of Union Respondents

A-6 Place of Residence of Union Respondents

A-7 Party Identification of Union Respondents, Union Households and Non-union Households--Percent Identifying Strongly or Weakly with Democratic Party

A-8 Party Identification of Union Respondents--Percent Democrats, Independents, Republicans

A-9 Time of Vote Decision

A-10 Percent Voting Democratic

A-11 Feeling Thermometer--Labor Unions

A-12 Feeling Thermometer--Big Business

A-13 Feeling Thermometer--Democratic Party

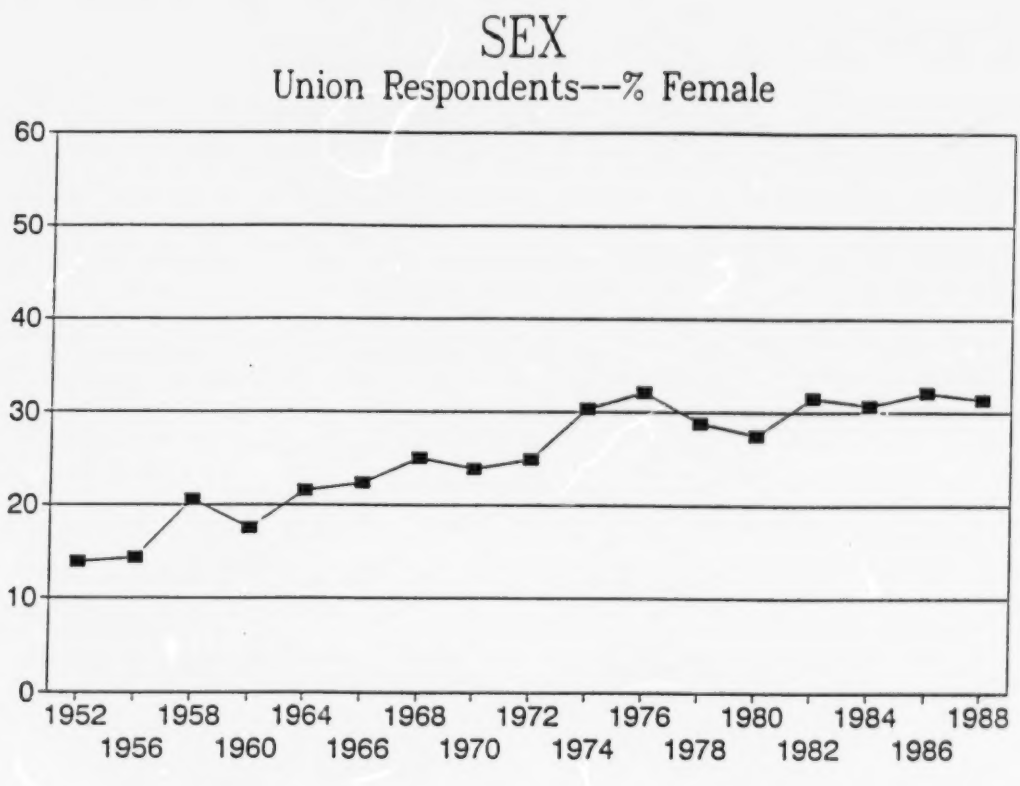
A-14 Feeling Thermometer--Republican Party

A-15 Feeling Thermometers--Miscellaneous

A-16 Interview Guide for Summer 1990

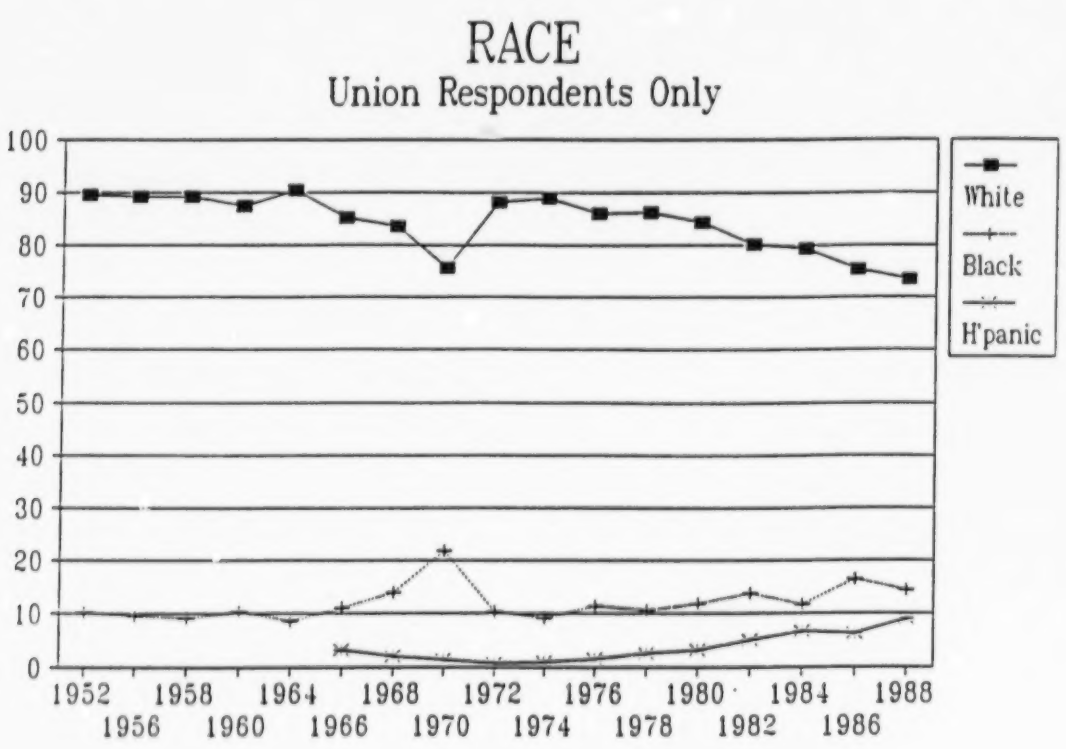
A-17 Length of Union Membership

APPENDIX A-1: SEX OF UNION RESPONDENTS--ANES DATA



	% Male	% Female
1952	86	14
1956	86	14
1958	79	21
1960	82	18
1964	78	22
1966	78	22
1968	75	25
1970	76	24
1972	75	25
1974	70	30
1976	68	32
1978	71	29
1980	72	28
1982	68	32
1984	69	31
1986	68	32
1988	69	31

APPENDIX A-2: RACE OF UNION RESPONDENTS--ANES DATA



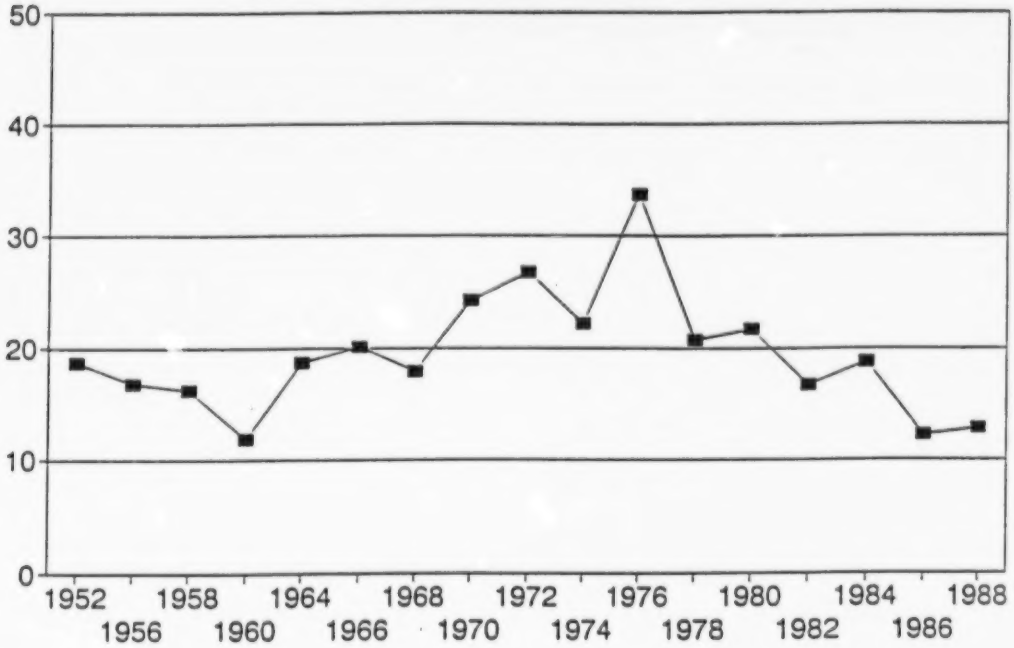
	% White	% Black	% Hispanic
1952	90	10	
1956	89	10	
1958	89	9	
1960	87	11	
1964	90	9	
1966	85	11	3
1968	84	14	2
1970	76	22	1
1972	88	10	1
1974	89	9	1
1976	86	12	2
1978	86	11	3
1980	84	12	3
1982	80	14	5
1984	79	12	7
1986	75	16	6
1988	74	15	9

Note: Prior to 1966, Hispanics were not measured separately by ANES.

APPENDIX A-3: AGE OF UNION RESPONDENTS--ANES DATA

AGE--Union Respondents Only

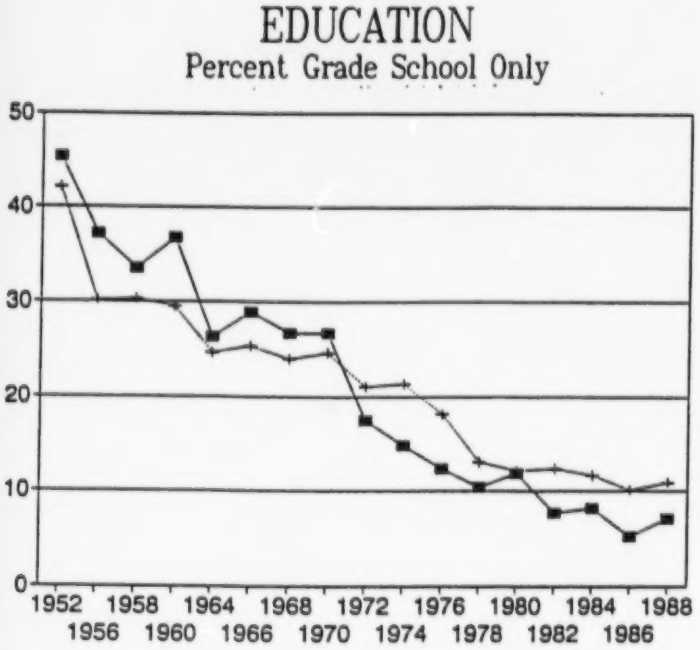
Percent Under 30

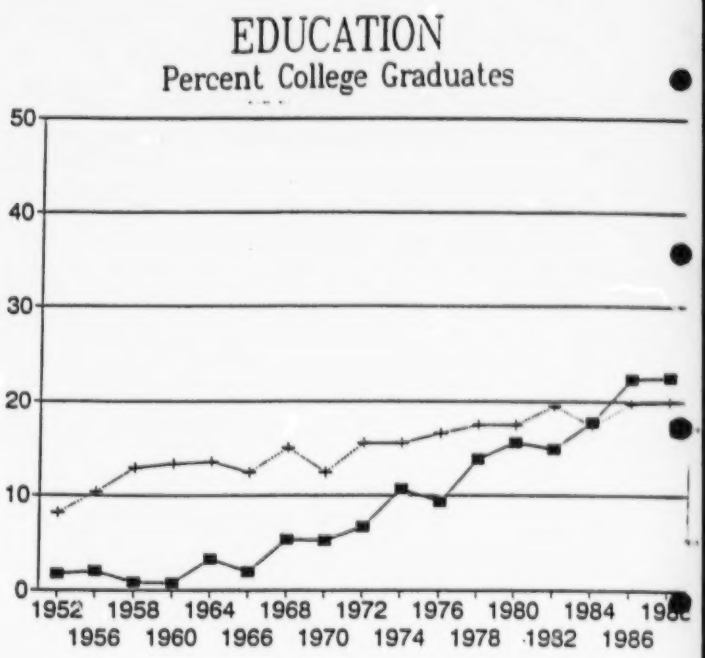


	Under 30	30 to 44	45 to 59	60 & Over
1952	19	41	30	11
1956	17	44	29	10
1958	16	37	31	16
1960	12	36	36	16
1964	19	36	31	14
1966	20	36	32	13
1968	18	33	33	17
1970	24	36	26	14
1972	27	27	33	14
1974	22	26	32	19
1976	34	26	23	18
1978	21	38	28	14
1980	22	34	28	17
1982	17	44	22	18
1984	19	37	24	20
1986	12	48	21	19
1988	13	49	23	15

Above numbers show percent in each age category

APPENDIX A-4: EDUCATION OF UNION RESPONDENTS--ANES DATA

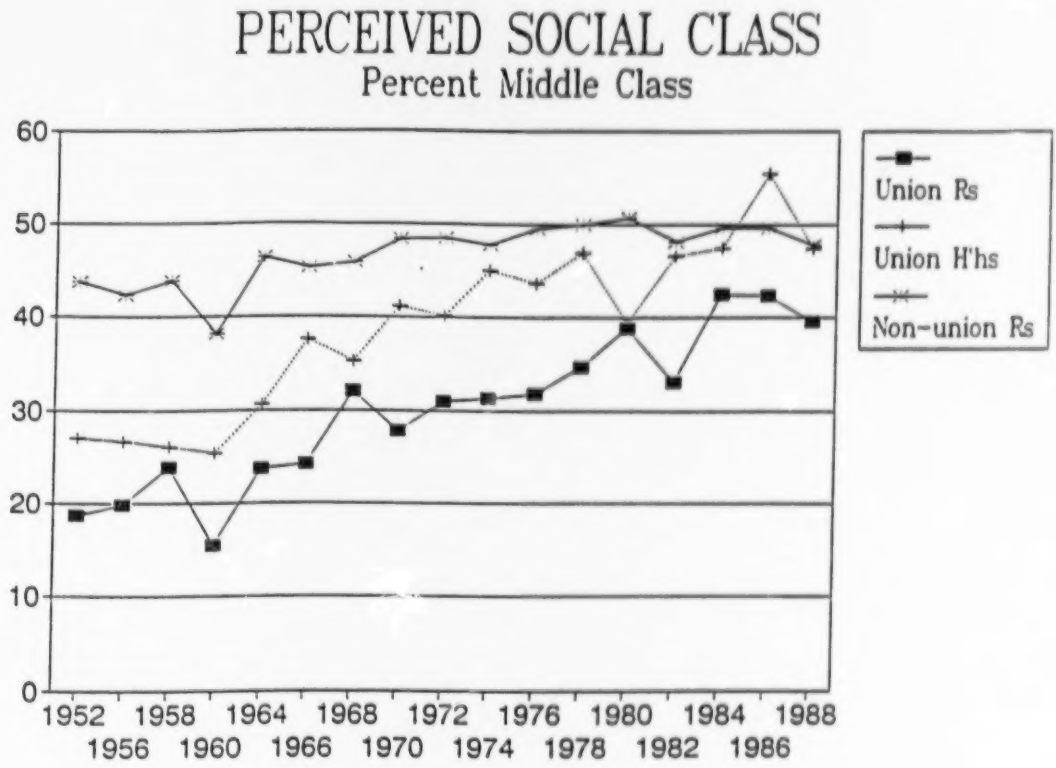




	Grade School Educ. Only		College Graduates	
	Union Rs	Non-Union Rs	Union Rs	Non-union Rs
1952	45	42	2	8
1956	37	30	2	10
1958	34	30	1	13
1960	37	30	1	13
1964	26	25	3	14
1966	29	25	2	13
1968	27	24	5	15
1970	27	25	5	13
1972	17	21	7	16
1974	15	21	11	16
1976	12	18	9	17
1978	10	13	14	17
1980	12	12	16	17
1982	8	12	15	20
1984	8	12	18	17
1986	5	10	22	20
1988	7	11	23	20

Above numbers show percent in each education category

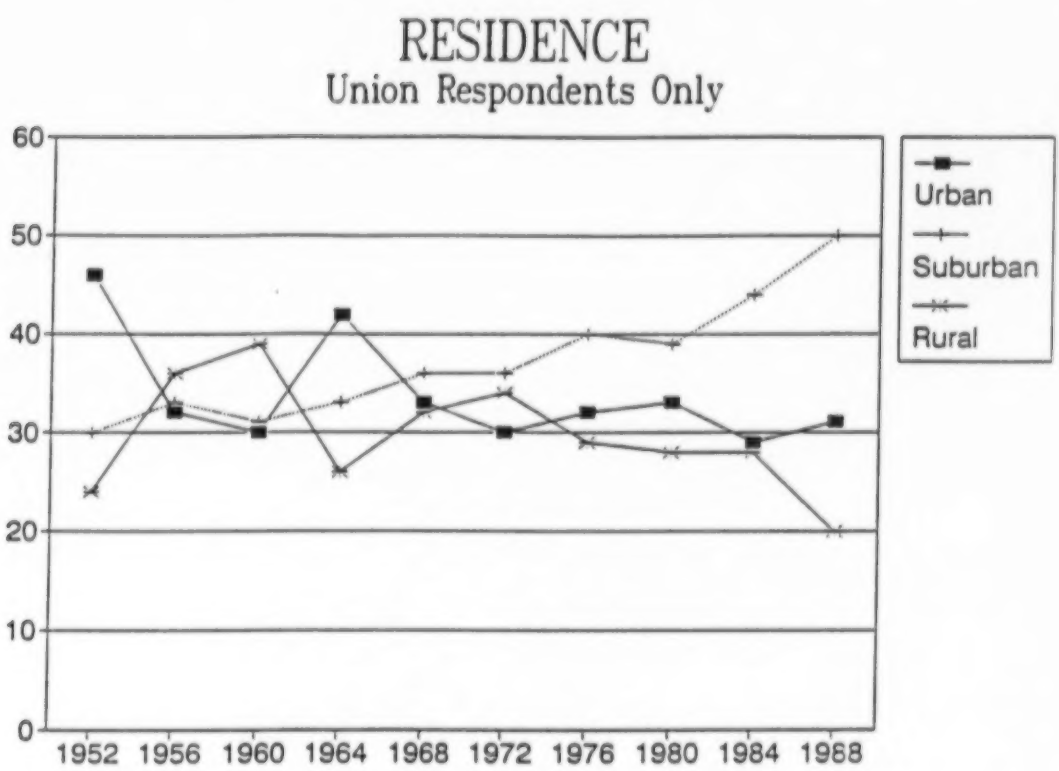
APPENDIX A-5: PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS--ANES DATA



	Union Respondents	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	19	27	44
1956	20	28	42
1958	24	26	44
1960	15	25	38
1964	24	31	46
1966	24	38	45
1968	32	35	46
1970	28	41	48
1972	31	40	49
1974	31	45	48
1976	32	44	50
1978	35	47	50
1980	39	39	51
1982	33	47	48
1984	43	47	50
1986	42	56	50
1988	40	47	48

Numbers represent percent who identify with the middle class.
Others consider selves "working class."

APPENDIX A-6: PLACE OF RESIDENCE

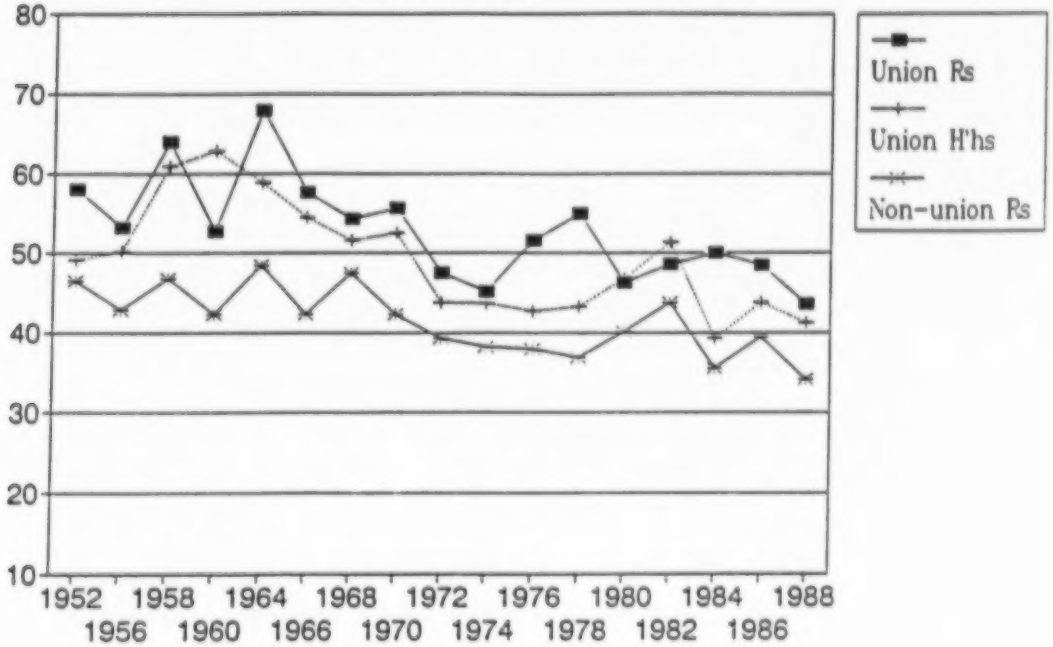


	Urban	Suburban	Rural
1952	46	30	24
1956	32	33	36
1960	30	31	39
1964	42	33	26
1968	33	36	32
1972	30	36	34
1976	32	40	29
1980	33	39	28
1984	29	44	28
1988	31	50	20

Above numbers show percent of union respondents residing in each area.

APPENDIX A-7: DEMOCRATIC PARTY IDENTIFIERS

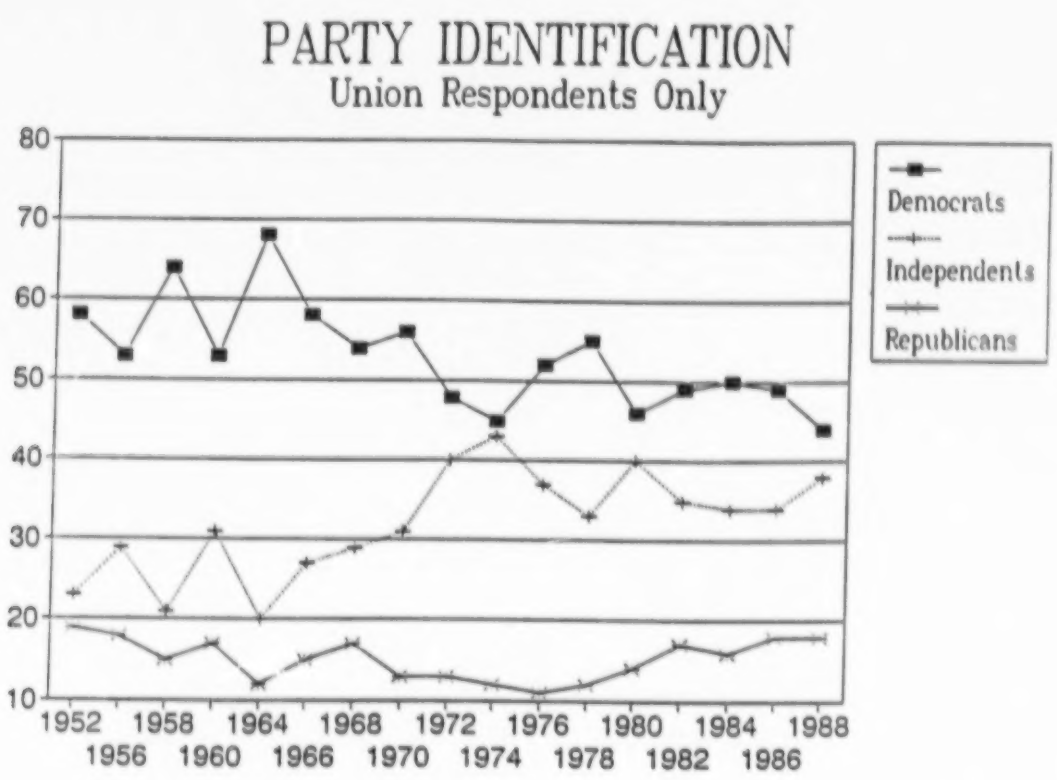
PARTY IDENTIFICATION
Percent Strong & Weak Dems



	Union Members	Union Households	Non-union Households
1952	58	49	47
1956	53	50	43
1958	64	61	47
1960	53	63	43
1964	68	59	49
1966	58	55	42
1968	54	52	48
1970	56	53	42
1972	48	44	39
1974	45	44	38
1976	52	43	38
1978	55	43	37
1980	46	47	40
1982	49	51	44
1984	50	39	36
1986	49	44	40
1988	44	41	34

Percent identifying strongly
or weakly with the Democratic Party

APPENDIX A-8: PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF UNION RESPONDENTS



	Strong & Weak Democrats	Leaners & Independents	Strong & Weak Republicans
1952	58	23	19
1956	53	29	18
1958	64	21	15
1960	53	31	17
1964	68	20	12
1966	58	27	15
1968	54	29	17
1970	56	31	13
1972	48	40	13
1974	45	43	12
1976	52	37	11
1978	55	33	12
1980	46	40	14
1982	49	35	17
1984	50	34	16
1986	49	34	18
1988	44	38	18

Above numbers show percent of union respondents identifying with Democrats, Independents and Republicans

APPENDIX A-9: TIME OF VOTE DECISION

% who decided in each time category

	5 or more weeks before			3 to 4 weeks before			2 weeks before			Days before			Election Day		
	UR	UH	NU	UR	UH	NU	UR	UH	NU	UR	UH	NU	UR	UH	NU
1980	66	59	66	5	8	7	10	10	11	6	10	8	13	13	9
1984	70	74	78	9	10	8	9	5	4	7	6	6	5	5	4
1988	73	69	73	6	13	9	5	5	5	9	5	8	7	8	5

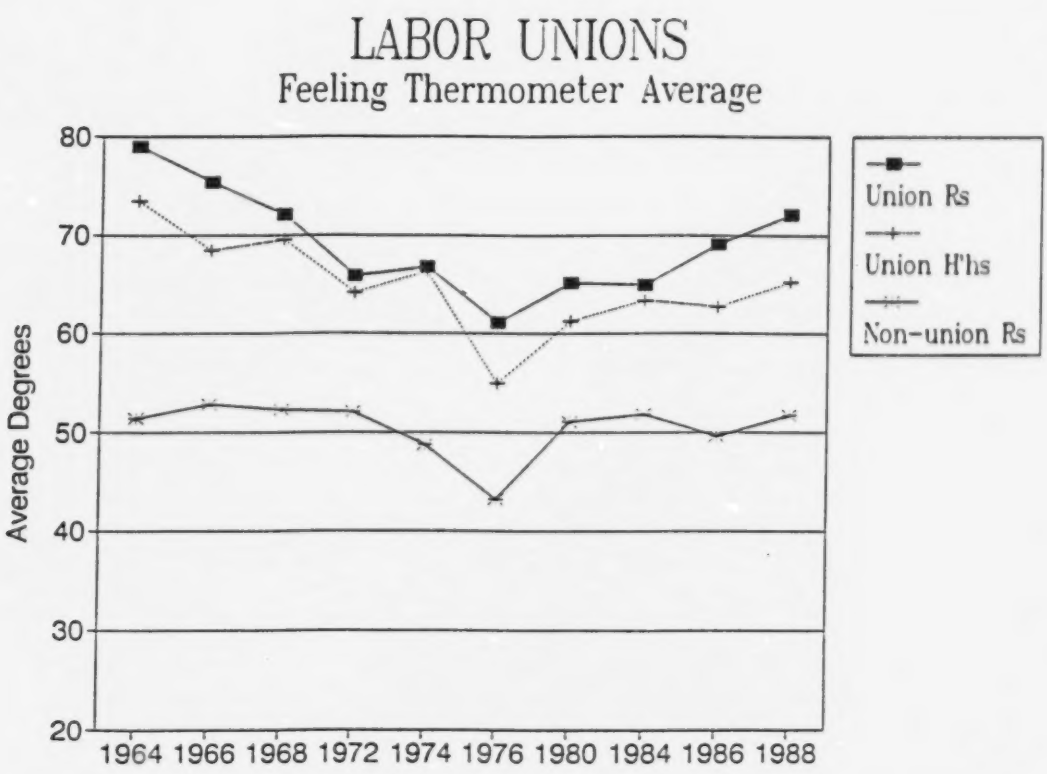
UR = Union Respondents
UH = Union Households
NU = Non-union households

APPENDIX A-10: PERCENT VOTING DEMOCRATIC

	Presidential Vote				U.S. Senate Vote				Congressional Vote			
	UR	UH	NU	DIFF	UR	UH	NU	DIFF	UR	UH	NU	DIFF
1952	62	48	36	26	62	41	42	20	65	55	44	21
1956	57	47	36	21	64	58	50	14	65	59	49	16
1958	--	--	--	--	70	71	53	17	79	77	54	25
1960	65	62	44	21	74	64	50	24	67	71	51	16
1964	85	81	62	23	78	75	54	24	85	74	59	26
1966	--	--	--	--	67	55	46	21	73	59	53	20
1968	52	47	42	10	60	62	51	9	61	55	52	9
1970	--	--	--	--	71	72	60	11	70	63	53	17
1972	42	45	33	9	60	45	49	11	65	57	54	11
1974	--	--	--	--	70	68	54	16	74	69	58	16
1976	68	61	47	21	70	69	55	15	77	65	53	24
1978	--	--	--	--	71	48	47	24	72	67	54	18
1980	51	51	36	15	65	60	49	16	67	63	51	16
1982	--	--	--	--	60	54	54	6	70	71	54	16
1984	60	52	37	23	66	61	50	16	67	55	53	14
1986	--	--	--	--	68	55	52	16	68	56	59	9
1988	59	58	44	15	70	62	54	16	71	61	57	14

UR = Union Respondents
UH = Union Households
NU = Non-union Households
DIFF = NU-UR

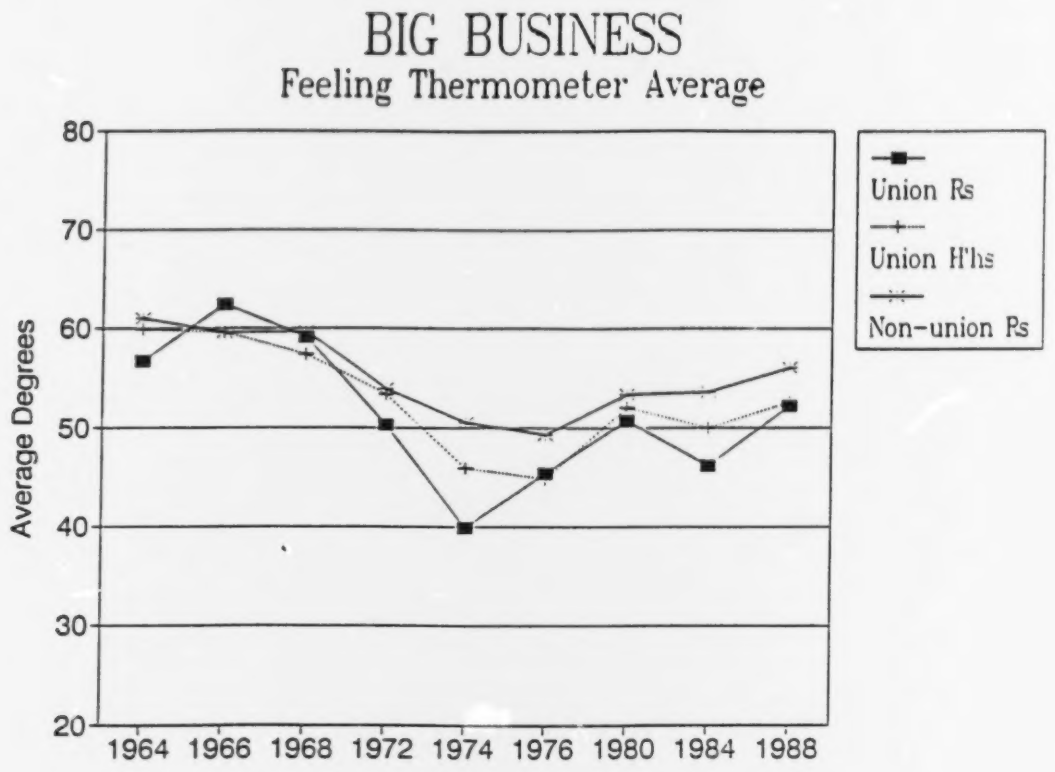
APPENDIX A-11: FEELING THERMOMETER--LABOR UNIONS--ANES DATA



	UR	UH	NU
1964	79%	73%	51%
1966	75	68	53
1968	72	70	52
1972	66	64	52
1974	67	66	49
1976	61	55	43
1980	65	61	51
1984	65	63	52
1986	69	63	50
1988	72	65	52

UR = Union Respondents
UH = Union Households
NH = Non-union Households

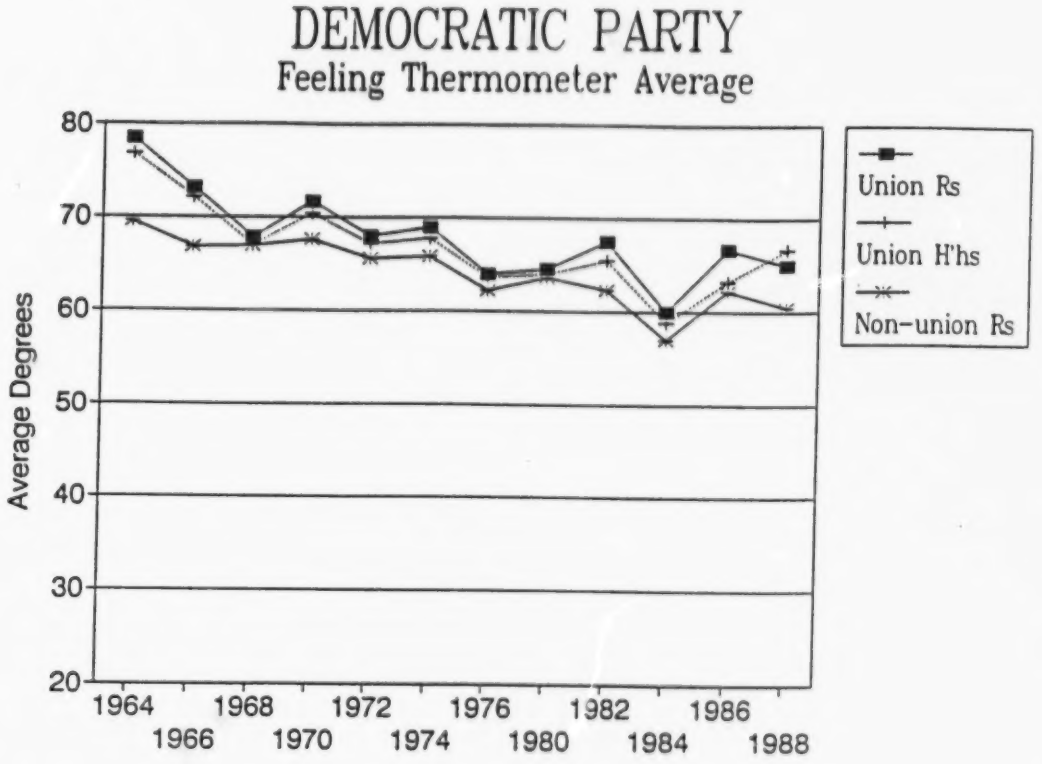
APPENDIX A-12: FEELING THERMOMETER--BIG BUSINESS--ANES DATA



	UR	UH	NU
1964	57%	60%	61%
1966	62	60	60
1968	59	57	60
1972	50	53	54
1974	40	46	51
1976	45	45	49
1980	51	52	53
1984	46	50	54
1986	--	--	--
1988	52	53	56

UR = Union Respondents
UH = Union Households
NH = Non-union Households

APPENDIX A-13: FEELING THERMOMETER--DEMOCRATIC PARTY--ANES DATA



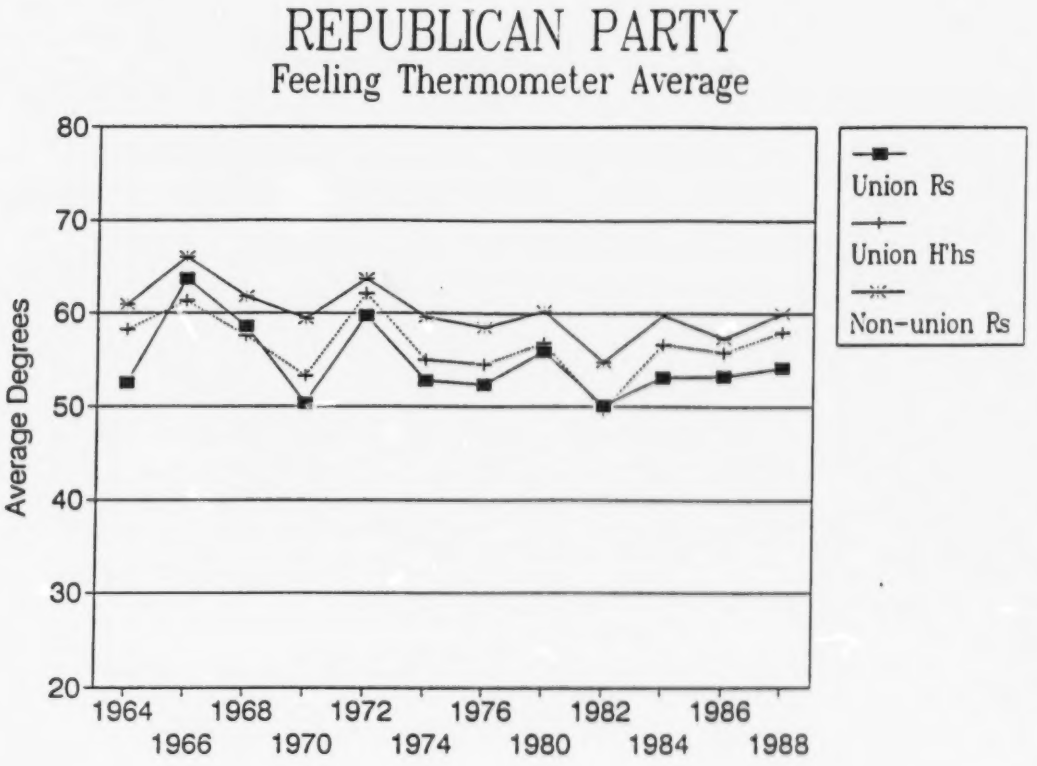
	UR	UH	NU
1964	78%	77%	70%
1966	73	72	67
1968	68	67	67
1970	72	70	68
1972	68	67	66
1974	69	68	66
1976	64	64	62
1980	65	64	64
1982	67	65	62
1984	60	59	57
1986	67	63	62
1988	65	67	60

UR = Union respondents

UH = Union households

NU = Non-union households

APPENDIX A-14: FEELING THERMOMETER--REPUBLICAN PARTY--ANES DATA



	UR	UH	NU
1964	52	58	61%
1966	64	61	66
1968	59	58	62
1970	50	53	59
1972	60	62	64
1974	53	55	60
1976	52	55	58
1980	56	57	60
1982	50	50	55
1984	53	57	60
1986	53	56	57
1988	54	58	60

UR = Union respondents
UH = Union households
NU = Non-union households

APPENDIX A-15: FEELING THERMOMETERS--MISCELLANEOUS

	Whites			Blacks			Hispanics		
	UR	UH	NU	UR	UH	NU	UR	OH	NU
1964	83%	84%	83%	62%	64%	64%			
1966	84	85	83	61	63	64			
1968	81	79	79	65	67	67			
1970	73	75	76	61	61	64			
1972	77	77	78	63	66	63			
1974	77	80	79	65	67	65			
1976	71	71	74	58	59	61	55%	57%	55%
1980	76	77	78	63	63	65	58	59	58
1982	69	75	73	61	63	64	-	-	-
1984	73	76	74	62	66	64	59	61	59
1986	-	-	-	67	64	67	-	-	-
1988	70	75	73	60	61	62	56	58	57

	Women's Movement		
	UR	UH	NU
1970	37%	31%	33%
1974	53	53	52
1976	55	52	52
1980	54	56	54
1984	59	57	58
1986	66	62	63
1988	57	56	52

UR = Union respondents

UH = Union households

NU = Non-union households

APPENDIX A-16: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SUMMER 1990

Note that this interview guide was designed for central body officials and activists. Appropriate variations were made in discussions with state labor officials.

1. What results do you want to achieve with political action? Do you focus on specific offices? Which ones? Do you focus on specific issues? Which ones? What activities do you think of as political action?

2. Who are you trying to reach with your political action? Do you give focused attention to union members? Do you also try to influence non-members?

3. How easy is it to mobilize union members in your area to support the central labor body's political preferences?

4. What are the problems you face among the people you are trying to influence? Not enough of them sympathetic to labor? Apathy-? Inclined to hold different views from yours?

5. What organizations are important in this area in working together toward political ends you favor? Individual unions? Community groups? Democratic party? What individuals are important? How do you coordinate with the state AFL-CIO? Other state and national organizations?

6. How do you view the relation of your political action efforts to the Democratic party? What relationships do you have with the state and local democratic parties? Do the party leaders work with you in shaping political action strategy?

7. What political action are you undertaking or do you plan to undertake for the 1990 election? Do these activities differ from previous years? How? Why? If not, why not?

8. What thoughts do you have about the kinds of political action in which your organization might engage in the next few years? Are there past activities that seem not to work so well? What works very well? What changes are you thinking about?

9. Who else should I talk to who is familiar with the political action of organized labor in this area?

APPENDIX A-17: LENGTH OF UNION MEMBERSHIP

		Union Member for Less Than 10 Years	Union Member for 10 Years or More
PARTY ID % S&W DEMOCRATS	1956	59	49
	1958	62	65
	1960	55	53
	1964	61	73
	1966	44	56
	1968	48	61
TURNOUT	1956	73	88
	1958	60	76
	1960	68	96
	1964	73	90
	1966	37	63
	1968	76	84
PRESIDENTIAL VOTE	1956	60	55
	1958	--	--
	1960	65	66
	1964	81	89
	1966	--	--
	1968	70	68*
SENATE VOTE	1956	66	63
	1958	68	70
	1960	67	80
	1964	70	86
	1966	39	61
	1968	52	64
CONGRESSIONAL VOTE	1956	70	63
	1958	75	81
	1960	61	72
	1964	82	88
	1966	41	59
	1968	52	69

Numbers shown under Presidential Vote, Senate Vote and Congressional Vote are percent of respondents who voted Democratic.

* Both the Humphrey and Wallace votes were included in the Democratic presidential vote for this year. For shorter term members, the percentages for Humphrey and Wallace were 58 and 12 respectively. For longer term members, these same figures were 50 and 18 respectively.

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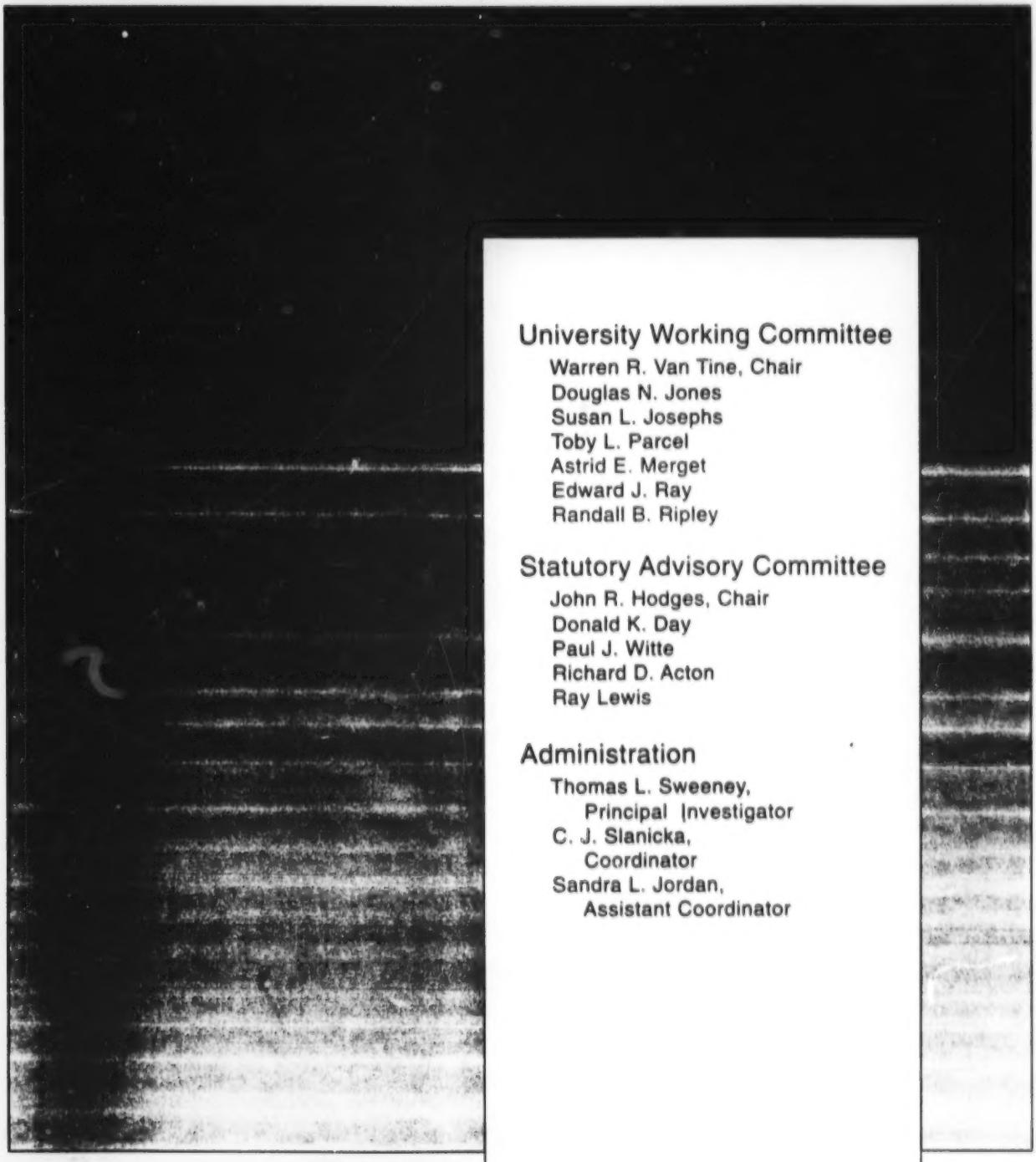

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